USAWC STRATEGY RESEARCH PROJECT

COUNTERING DESTABILIZATION IN AFRICA

by

Colonel Regina M. Curtis
United States Army Reserve

Professor Patricia S. Pond
Project Advisor

U.S. Army War College
CARLISLE BARRACKS, PENNSYLVANIA 17013

Report Documentation Page			*Form Approved* *OMB No. 0704-0188*

Public reporting burden for the collection of information is estimated to average 1 hour per response, including the time for reviewing instructions, searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and completing and reviewing the collection of information. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing this burden, to Washington Headquarters Services, Directorate for Information Operations and Reports, 1215 Jefferson Davis Highway, Suite 1204, Arlington VA 22202-4302. Respondents should be aware that notwithstanding any other provision of law, no person shall be subject to a penalty for failing to comply with a collection of information if it does not display a currently valid OMB control number.

1. REPORT DATE **03 MAY 2004**	2. REPORT TYPE	3. DATES COVERED **-**	
4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE **Countering Destabilization in Africa A Threat to U.S. National Security**		5a. CONTRACT NUMBER	
		5b. GRANT NUMBER	
		5c. PROGRAM ELEMENT NUMBER	
6. AUTHOR(S) **Regina Curtis**		5d. PROJECT NUMBER	
		5e. TASK NUMBER	
		5f. WORK UNIT NUMBER	
7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) **U.S. Army War College,Carlisle Barracks,Carlisle,PA,17013-5050**		8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER	
9. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES)		10. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S ACRONYM(S)	
		11. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S REPORT NUMBER(S)	

12. DISTRIBUTION/AVAILABILITY STATEMENT
Approved for public release; distribution unlimited

13. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

14. ABSTRACT
See attached file.

15. SUBJECT TERMS

16. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF:			17. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT	18. NUMBER OF PAGES **21**	19a. NAME OF RESPONSIBLE PERSON
a. REPORT **unclassified**	b. ABSTRACT **unclassified**	c. THIS PAGE **unclassified**			

Standard Form 298 (Rev. 8-98)
Prescribed by ANSI Std Z39-18

ABSTRACT

AUTHOR: Colonel Regina M. Curtis

TITLE: COUNTERING DESTABILIZATION IN AFRICA

FORMAT: Strategy Research Project

DATE: 19 March 2004   PAGES: 21   CLASSIFICATION: Unclassified

Countering Destabilization in Africa addresses the impact of African instability on US national security. The analysis points to globalization as a critical catalyst to ever-increasing instability, examines potential causes of and solutions for instability, and underscores that Africa needs help from countries of the developed world before its own nations can begin to work bilaterally with the developed world to ensure security, achieve prosperity, and establish democracy in the region – the US national security strategy for Africa. The paper recommends a major attack on the "most vulnerable to being fixed" cause, AIDS, while working steadily on the others.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

COUNTERING DESTABILIZATION IN AFRICA

The destabilization of Africa is a threat to US National Security. And, that threat is exacerbated as destabilization rapidly expands across the African continent. Its causes are multiple: the solutions tenuous.

This paper will identify the major forces at work destabilizing Africa. It will point to globalization as a critical catalyst hastening the disintegration of African nations. It will identify as the one destabilizing cause we can impact freely – without military action or great likelihood of unsuccessful effort – the devastation being caused by Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS).

This paper will recommend actions that, if taken now, may reduce the destabilizing African threat to US security – and at the same time serve a humanitarian purpose.

US SECURITY INTERESTS IN AFRICA

US security interests in Africa are built on three pillars: stability, prosperity, and democracy. Stability in Africa is the foundation on which the US can promote its interests in Africa's prosperity and democracy. Regional stability is essential to trade, which translates into an increasing level of prosperity for Africa and into access to markets, critical resources, and energy sources for the US and other developed nations.

For many years, the prosperity of Africa and the eventuality of the interdependence between the developed world and Africa were incredible notions. Now, with energy reserves constrained elsewhere in the world, yet available in Africa, there is cause to revise that judgment. African oil development, which would be a boon for certain sectors of the African regional economy, could reduce US dependence on Southwest Asian oil. Africa already provides about 15% of US crude oil imports. That market is expected to increase in the near future to about 25%. Analysts speculate that approximately 25% of all non-Southwest Asian oil reaching the world market in the next five years will come from Africa.

Democracy and state security are enhanced through economic development. A solid economic base enables the state to provide a higher level of services and security for citizens. A growing economy is more resistant to transnational threats, and provides the means for the services, infrastructure, and environment most conducive to nurturing democracy.

GLOBALIZATION: DESTABILIZATION CATALYST IN FAILING STATES

Globalization, the accelerant of economic, political, technological, and cultural integration of nations around the globe, is having profound effects on the nature of the emerging world, the interrelationships developing among nations and within regions, and the tensions that result.

Globalization, while a positive catalyst for development and growth on a global basis, can produce regional political instability. This is especially true when there is a lack of responsible economic development policies in countries and regions not properly prepared for the challenges of globalization. Many developing nations are not yet primed to assimilate the current revolutions in technology, communications, and economics. Their national infrastructures are frequently too immature for link up with transnational corporations. Rapidly expanding populations, decreasing production, increasing environmental stresses, and the increasing scarcity of resources fundamental to life are contributing factors.

> The social institutions that ordered life 50 years ago are unable to contain the speed and levels of change characterizing today's global society, with concomitant rending of the social fabric, rising crime, drug abuse, and a growing sense of individual isolation and hopelessness…[1].

The globalization process was imposed on Africa even before the post-colonial transition was negotiated by many of her countries. Current political, social, and economic structures are not fully capable of sustaining nascent African free markets due to the inherent constraints on their free play and the catastrophic loss of a preponderant proportion of populations in their most productive working years.

Many African countries not only are not poised to negotiate their integration into the emerging global world, but their very stability is threatened by the downfall of failing regional states. For some failing states in Africa, the momentum of globalization, in conjunction with the regional and local effects of ethnic conflicts, disease, poverty, and disintegrating governmental infrastructures, is accelerating the process of state collapse with global security consequences. Destabilization in Africa has not only direct effects on U.S. interests, it has potential second and third order effects for the US and other developed nations.

In his presentation on globalization and its effects on Africa delivered at the Eighth Conference of Africanists at the African Institute of Moscow University (Russia) in September 1999, Vassiliev correctly assessed the situation and the nature of the threats: "Nobody but the state authorities, provided they become more efficient, provided their connection with the population is revived and their responsibility to society is strengthened, provided they are purged from corruption at least to some extent, can help economic and social development, the solution of Africa's confounded problems."[2]

2

In many regions of Africa, even with careful planning, the introduction of technology will result in recession and unemployment in some sectors of the economy. The gap that has separated developed from developing countries cannot simply and instantaneously be bridged with computer chips and unfocused investments from the developed world. "What most poorer nations need is not simply the liberating effects of free market economics, but also enormous investments in social improvement….In predominantly agrarian African countries whose populations are doubling every 25 years, the most urgent needs are family planning, environmental protection, healthcare, and basic infrastructure – which free market, multinational corporations are not likely to be interested in financing…in other words huge public funds are required before conditions become attractive to investment managers."[3] Regional stability, long-term survival, growth, and eventual parity in the global world will occur for the nations of Africa in proportion to the coordinated, targeted investment of countries and corporations who see the advantages and utter necessity of this.

AFRICA'S THREAT TO U.S. NATIONAL SECURITY

If US interests in Africa are, indeed, Africa's stability, prosperity, and democracy, the glaring inability of this region to achieve stability in its post-colonial transition is clear warning that those interests are in jeopardy. When globalization removed the insulating layers separating countries like the US from the immediate effects of social, economic, and political upheaval in developing areas of the world, threats to US security ceased to be contained behind neat geopolitical lines. Regional stability around the world now has direct effects on US security and prosperity. Assessment of US vital interests now must include careful analysis of new security challenges—those formerly nonexistent or constrained by geopolitics and the reality of national borders.

Issues such as the environment and the health of populations, which in the past were seemingly far removed from US security concerns due to remote geography, socioeconomic discontinuities, and cultural differences, are now immediate in their presence. As some of these factors have the potential to destabilize entire regions of the global world, they have direct consequences for US security and prosperity – both immediate and long-term. In addition to increased vigilance, immediate and proportionate retaliation, and improved intelligence collection and analysis, the most effective means of ensuring US security and the security of our allies is to promote regional stability in areas of the world like Africa.

In Africa, stark contrasts between the developed and developing worlds and between the empowered and the un-enfranchised within nations are fertile breeding grounds for spawning

asymmetric threats within as well as for export from Africa. The effective indoctrination of anti-US and anti-Western propaganda into the minds of people, who would otherwise be potential stakeholders in a future global system, nurtures potential participants in future asymmetric threat activities. Counter-movements have emerged in some areas of Africa as an expression of those who have no stake in "the system" as well as those whose cultures are disintegrating in the process of modernization. Failure to adequately weight the threat of extreme fundamentalist and ethnic-nationalist threats in defining US security strategy is foolhardy, as current political events bear witness. Threats to US national security in this region include regional wars and hostilities, abductions of foreign nationals for ransom or as political gestures, and interference with free trade by piracy and sea-lane closures. Less directly, at the grass roots level, political mobilization and manipulation of un-enfranchised people threaten security within countries themselves, disrupting relations with foreign nations and potential trading partners.

African prosperity is non-existent. Africa is threatened by major problems: poverty, disease, inadequate government services, ethnic tensions, plus political mobilization, manipulation of the people, and corruption in government. Economic instability increases as racial and ethnic atrocities, assassinations, and the possession and/or threat of weapons of mass destruction grows. Negative economic growth, measured by indicators of financial instability, undermines economic growth further and discourages investment by developed countries. As a result, leading economic indicators used to assess prosperity--such as levels of economic development, trade, education and health status – depict a pessimistic picture for Africa's future.

Without stability and prosperity, democracy remains little more than an abstract concept for some African nations. When human beings are marginalized and made to live in subsistence mode, teasing out the fine details of economic, social, religious, and ethnic underpinnings producing their current state of affairs and taking action to change it is an unaffordable and unimaginable luxury. The chaos of anti-Western sentiment, corruption, political entrenchment, assassinations, resistance to lawful transitions of power *inter alia* make achievement of the third pillar of US security strategy, democracy, contingent on achieving stability, with its concomitant rule of law, and prosperity, with its opportunity to appreciate capitalism, first.

Of all the risk factors arising from Africa, the factor that represents a common threat for all people and for all nations is epidemic AIDS. AIDS has already thinned down a few overpopulated bureaucracies, underscoring the futility of short-term planning and the accumulation of wealth. Unfortunately, it has also struck down health care providers, parents,

4

teachers, and professionals who might have provided sorely needed leadership, vision, and culture – the necessary framework on which to shape the future. If globalization has made transfer of communication, trade, and technology immediate; so too has it made pestilence and anger from the world's un-enfranchised. At the 14th International AIDS Conference in Barcelona, Spain. Ramesh Thakur, political scientist and vice rector of the United Nations University in Tokyo summarized the current situation succinctly. "The message of 9/11 is that there are no more quarantines, and isolation is an illusion."

Pathogens and their means of transmission respect no boundaries and have no loyalties or allies. The potential for exotic viruses to travel with humans across continents with serious effects on another nation's health in terms of morbidity and mortality serves to underscore the common vulnerability of humankind to the same agents and the need for mutual assistance and protection to bring disease under control. Although ninety percent of global AIDS infections occur in Africa, transmission of the disease has reached to all continents, all nations. The breakdown of African health care systems and the large number of HIV infected persons increases the threat of disease emanating from Africa.

The HIV epidemic has heightened racial and ethnic tensions, sharpened the competition for scarce resources, increased the dependent fraction of the population (orphans and elderly), and decreased the numbers and oversight of government security forces (military and police), while putting control of available weaponry almost exclusively in their hands. It is not too strong to say that the AIDS epidemic in Africa is both a direct and an indirect threat to US national security.

Little attention is being paid to the implications of AIDS epidemiology on African stability, prosperity, and democracy. Economic disruption and social chaos are being caused by this entity, not even visible to the human eye. While AIDS is only one of a score of life-threatening diseases found on the African continent, its effects on the population, the stability of governments, and the survival of African countries and their people has reached proportions that should be an immediate security concern for the US and her allies, especially since governments there are unable to provide minimum levels of basic public health.

AFRICA'S STRATEGIC ENVIRONMENT

The landmass of Africa is 11.7 million square miles - three times the size of the United States - with a population of 650 million, 40% of which is less than 15 years old. In 15 years, 52% of the population will be less than 15 years old. The rate of GDP growth is the lowest in the world, with most people existing on less than US$1 per day. Decreasing economic growth,

the negative effects of disrupted social services and cultural supports, and the ravages of the AIDS epidemic are predicted to reduce the GDP by as much as one third over the next 15 years and decrease economic growth by as much as 75% in the same period.

The vast majority of the people of African nations live in a state of subsistence poverty, in sharp contrast to a small minority of people there who already are wealthy, have professional skills, occupy positions of governmental influence, are skilled entrepreneurs, or are involved in criminal activity. The workforce has been decreased by disease and migration. For those infected with AIDS, the approximate 10 year survival after infection means that several percent of the adult working population die each year eliminating productive employees from the social and national support infrastructure. This has created a whole subpopulation of orphans, all the more compelling as 25-30% percent of pregnant women in some regions are HIV positive.

Educational development suffers from a loss of teachers and because children must work to support what is left of their families. Uninformed bureaucratic policies and corruption have reduced government revenues. And corruption has undermined all areas of potential stability, prosperity, and democracy.

Faced with poverty and the destruction of their cultures, deprived of adequate health care and education, and provided no direction or hope, there are movements among some of Africa's people and her ethnic groups to revert to traditional practices or to embrace fundamentalism. The frustration, anger, and dire hopelessness of human beings in a fight for their survival have added to the resurgence of fundamentalism and extremist groups. Stripping a nation of its cultural identities and its norms of socialization eliminates the framework on which any governmental authority and structure is elaborated. People as the nucleus of a group, tribe, or society are fundamental. Economic planning is predicated on a population base with a sufficient proportion of workers in it to support the dependent society members. Their anger and utter rejection of what the developing world is foisting upon African nations and their frustrating inability to care for their own basic survival needs has found expression in terrorist responses like suicide bombings, the use of chemical or biological agents, ethnic slaughter, and the threatened use of weapons of mass destruction.

The agricultural problem is part of larger environmental issues: urbanization, loss of workers to disease, decreased food production for domestic consumption, deforestation, increased food exports, increased food imports, overgrazing of agricultural lands, disappearing agricultural surpluses, and farming practices which do not conserve sparse natural resources. Food exports benefit the bureaucracy, further impoverish the nation, and necessitate the import of food to feed the population. The unfortunate facts are: (1) these nations can't afford to feed

their own people properly and (2) the spiral of increasing indebtedness for African nations is plummeting ever more steeply downward.

Understandably, growth and investment by developed countries are withheld in the presence of racial and ethnic atrocities, assassinations, and the possession and/or threatened use of weapons of mass destruction. But this lack of financial investment is devastatingly counterproductive to the expansion of markets and trade.

The operational military environment in Africa now possesses enhanced tactical capabilities and increasing asymmetric threats. The latter include: a general breakdown of order, realignment of allegiances, and famine and lawlessness (general societal breakdown). In addition to recognizing the need to shore up a nation's economy, the importance of a sturdy infrastructure, the need for constitutional order, an essential requirement for internal national stability, are the sine qua non for a nation's economic recovery and survival. Within this recovery there may be a clear role for a nation's own military as there may be, in specific instances, for permissive military assistance from other nations in re-establishing internal and regional stabilities. Indeed, recognition of this essential requirement is part of the rationale for Special Operations Command – Europe's (SOCEUR) participation in the African Crisis Response Initiative (ACRI).

The epidemiology of AIDS underscores as at-risk another population category directly linked with regional instability: the military. The spread of the virus has been increased by socioeconomic instability and war. African armies have high rates of infection and significantly higher rates of infection than non-military populations. "Military personnel are the population most at risk for AIDS…[with an] estimated prevalence rate of 40%….[The incidence and prevalence of the disease have an] impact on fighting capabilities, attrition in command and rank structure, and on the stability and reliability of the armed forces."[4]

The current AIDS epidemic is the single most devastating threat to the survival, the health, and the future of Africa. Already, African governments, infrastructures, and services are crippled by the first, second, and third orders effects of AIDS. The factor having the greatest influence in determining Africa's ability to respond to its current crisis and to fight for its future survival is demographic--its people. In a population already vitiated by poverty, AIDS in Africa has wiped out a large percentage of the normal working population, leaving the remaining population burdened by increasing numbers of orphans and elderly. Concomitantly, AIDS has intellectually impoverished its population by the loss of teachers, professionals and other skilled workers to disease as well as from their migration away from what appears to be a hopeless downward spiral. Requests for assistance with the AIDS epidemic heretofore have been

answered with promises and token efforts. Assistance from developed countries is now less than it was a decade ago.

 According to the US National Intelligence Council AIDS has ceased to be just a *health* issue in Africa. "It is a challenge to the social fabric of African states, to development prospects and to peace and stability on the continent. It fuels a vicious cycle of poverty, social breakdown, and conflict. In 1998 wars killed 200,000, but 2,000,000 died from AIDS…diseases such as AIDS will add to political instability and slow democratic development in Africa…[with] severe social impact if infectious diseases and the infiltration of these diseases into the ruling political and military elites and middle classes of developing countries [occurs]…[This would] intensify the struggle for political power to control scarce resources"[5]

SECURING STABILITY IN AFRICA

Stability in Africa is the foundation on which the US can help Africa achieve prosperity and democracy. Interrupting the cycle of poverty and social decline is critical to achieving and maintaining a stable, secure environment for a population--the most effective hedge against having a population manipulated or politically mobilized. Leveraging resource-based wealth to subsidize government revenue requirements is no longer sufficient. Although oil reserves can have positive effect on the economy, they can only shore up part of the current deficits.

Achieving regional stability and realizing prosperity and democracy requires finding a solution to the contributing factors for instabilities, security threats, political mobilization and manipulation of the populace, and the spread of lethal epidemic disease. At present, multi-party systems, the rule of law, transparency, peaceful transitions of power – components of democracy – are futuristic concepts.

Africa, historically relegated to the periphery of world importance, continues to be marginalized: the US has been less engaged there recently, despite proclaimed policy to the contrary. There has been a decrease in investment by the nations of the developed world; foreign aid has decreased as have the budgets of NGOs in Africa. Trade has slowed and the regional GDPs continue to decrease, while requests for assistance with the AIDS epidemic have been answered with promises and token efforts. Since assistance from developed countries is now less than it was a decade ago, it will require time and political momentum to reverse this trend – the latter is costly and not without risk for its political proponents

Recovery must address the three components – social, economic, and governmental – that are the minimal basic ingredients for a functioning nation. It must implement ways to reduce ethnic tensions. It must recognize ways and plan for the means to provide adequate

services to the urban population and to expand those services to also accommodate the population in rural areas. Along with improving the social aspects of the nation, recovery must enable the growth of economic performance and foster transparency of government intentions, actions, and results.

"Population increases, the diminution of grazing lands and food supplies, the burdens of indebtedness, the decay of infrastructures, the reduction of spending upon healthcare and education, the residual strength of the animist religions and traditional belief systems, the powerful hold of corrupt bureaucracies and ethnic loyalties…all these tilt against the relatively few African political leaders who perceive the need for changes."[6] "There needs to be a major transfer of resources from developed nations, targeted at the development of needed infrastructure, poverty alleviation, and economic program development likely to provide a stimulus to the economic regeneration of Africa."[7]

To reverse the negative trends, a recovery plan must provide a blueprint for promoting ethnic cooperation; a program to reinvigorate, control, and professionalize the military and police; and a course charted to bring about regional integration and peace. To effectively address Africa's problems, a regional approach is required. Recovery is dependent on multilateral assistance charted by clear-thinking, visionary African leaders who are dedicated to the survival and growth of their nations. Achieving regional stability and realizing prosperity and democracy requires finding a solution to the contributing factors for instabilities, security threats, political mobilization and manipulation of the populace, and the spread of lethal epidemic disease.

Developed nations, like the U.S., must assess the situation and their security strategies clearly if they are to provide support for the most viable initiatives proposed by African nations. In the past, problem-solving approaches for these complex issues developed by non-Africans have erred in being too prescriptive, producing further complications for Africa in the form of: scientific socialism, structuralism, and the like. Conversely, solutions devised by Africans have seldom amounted to more than theoretical treatises. Cooperative effort, combining areas of complementary skills and strengths, to confront and defeat what the globalizing world has transformed into common vulnerabilities is the surest solution. African government and business leaders and commodity dealers from the U.S. and other developed countries must use this opportunity wisely.

Nonetheless, there are no simple answers to the complex issues and the rapidly unraveling situation in Africa. "The strategy through which African states can progress from a vicious cycle of conflict, poverty, and failing states to a virtuous cycle of development and

prosperity … involves both external and internal components…"[8] Responses need to be multilateral, focused, and yet designed to address interrelated problems in several spheres of government and society in a coordinated fashion.

Implementing solutions to clearly identifiable threats, while continuing to pursue US security strategies of stability, prosperity and democracy, positions America in a proactive posture, demonstrating positive US intentions to assist in regional stabilization, simultaneously promoting the welfare of US citizens and the welfare of the people of Africa. Action plans, clear assessments, and transparently configured cooperative projects must begin. In order to plan for recovery, methodical and scientifically based approaches need to be explored. "Research carried out by international organizations revealed 15 obstacles to the successful development of business in African countries. The most important ones include: corruption, ambiguous tax legislation or too heavy taxation, poor infrastructure, high inflation rate…Terrorism ranked fifteenth. But practically all obstacles mentioned in the list required the state's participation in their elimination…"[9]

Given the tremendous ethnic diversity of African nations, support for that diversity is intrinsic to a successful outcome. Recovery must address how to decrease ethnic tensions and how to provide adequate services to the urban population with expansion of those services to rural areas.

Regional stability is essential to trade. Trade that brings an increasing level of prosperity for Africa will generate access to markets, to critical resources, and to energy sources for the US and other developed nations. A solid economic base enables the state to provide a higher level of services and security for its citizens. African economic development will enhance state security and support political democracy, since a growing economy is more resistant to transnational threats.

The relationship between environmental factors, economic development factors, inadequate public health services, and the prevalence of high risk diseases (e.g., hemorrhagic fever viruses, drug-resistant enteric bacteria, epidemic meningitis, tuberculosis, influenza, and Rift Valley fever) comes into clear focus across the map of Africa. The prevalence of TB has increased in correlation with the HIV epidemic. Seasonal Sub-Saharan meningitis, controllable with the rapid use of vaccine, spread during the 2001 Hajj: originating in West Africa, it spread to the Middle East and from there to US and EU. Hemorrhagic fever is usually the result of cross-species infection from forest animals, which can rapidly overwhelm and kill humans who have no natural immunity. Implications for future contingency operations are for more of these exotic viruses to infect persons resulting in focal outbreaks of lethal febrile disease. Already

10

there are examples of such viruses and their lethal potential: Ebola and Yellow Fever in Cameroon and Gabon. Most recently, the West Nile Virus, which originated in Uganda, has established itself as endemic in the continental United States.   The potential for exotic viruses to travel with humans across continents with serious effects on another nation's health in terms of morbidity and mortality serves to underscore the common vulnerability of humankind to the same agents and the need for mutual assistance and protection to bring disease under control.

Migration has severely impacted the national infrastructure and the state's ability to create solutions to counter-current threats. Migration deprives countries of the very human resources they need to solve problems, to plan, and to lead their populations through the current crises into a future for which they are intellectually prepared. This drain of professionals and skilled personnel by migration has hampered Africa's capability to increase trade, promote economic growth, and access those sources of wealth requiring education and professional skill sets. More than one half million doctors, engineers, and university staff left Africa between 1985 and 1990. In the next decade, another quarter million professionals migrated. The total decrease in the numbers of adult skilled workers feeds the continuing downward spiral of economic decline and contributes to the erosion of government infrastructure and its capacity to meet the needs of the people of the region.

With heavy migrations to the urban areas of these countries, public service infrastructure is overextended, attempting to provide for needs such as: housing, food, transportation, communication, education, and basic public health necessities, including clean water, sanitation, and health care. The inability of at-risk states to provide for the needs of their people is but one symptom of their impending collapse.

Demographically, the population pyramid is deformed. Access to health care has deteriorated dramatically.   Every country in Africa is seriously affected by the AIDS epidemic. It is the leading mortality indicator in most African nations, with over 65% of the current AIDS cases living in Sub-Saharan Africa. Life expectancy for Africans has been reduced to its lowest levels in half a century. Most incredibly, a few African leaders continue to deny that the disease AIDS exists in their countries at all. Although agencies and foreign nations have sporadically attempted to help with the AIDS epidemic, they unfortunately tend to approach the AIDS epidemic as a unique and separate disease problem rather than seeing it within the overall public health context.

IMMEDIATE FOCUS ON AIDS

There are no simple answers to the complex issues and the rapidly unraveling situation in Africa.

Responses need to be multilateral, focused, and yet designed to address interrelated problems in several spheres of government and society in a coordinated fashion.

Africa needs help from countries of the developed world before its own nations can begin to work bilaterally with the developed world to ensure security, achieve prosperity, and establish democracy in the region

Issues such as the environment and the health of populations, which in the past were seemingly far removed from US security concerns due to remote geography, socioeconomic discontinuities, and cultural differences, are now immediate in their presence. As some of these factors have the potential to destabilize entire regions of the global world, they have direct consequences for US security and prosperity – both immediate and long-term.

The US National Intelligence Council states that AIDS has ceased to be just a *health* issue in Africa, when it points out that AIDS challenges the social fabric of African states, to development prospects and to peace and stability on the continent.

The relationship between environmental factors, economic development factors, inadequate public health services, and the prevalence of high risk diseases (e.g., hemorrhagic fever viruses, drug-resistant enteric bacteria, epidemic meningitis, tuberculosis, influenza, and Rift Valley fever) comes into clear focus across the map of Africa.

The potential for exotic viruses to travel with humans across continents with serious effects on another nation's health in terms of morbidity and mortality serves to underscore the common vulnerability of humankind to the same agents and the need for mutual assistance and protection to bring disease under control.

Every country in Africa is seriously affected by the AIDS epidemic. It is the leading mortality indicator in most African nations,

Of all the risk factors arising from Africa, the factor that represents a common threat for all people and for all nations is epidemic AIDS.

It is not too strong to say that the AIDS epidemic in Africa is both a direct and an indirect threat to US national security.

The factor having the greatest influence in determining Africa's ability to respond to its current crisis and to fight for its future survival is demographic--its people.

The most clearly demarcated negative in the overall assessment of Africa's developmental status is the health of her populations.

The US security strategy of implementing solutions to clearly identifiable threats, while continuing to promote stability, prosperity and democracy in Africa, could be exercised immediately and beneficially if focused on reducing the threat from AIDS. The AIDS epidemic is the one destabilizing cause the US could impact freely, unilaterally--without military action, and without great likelihood of unsuccessful effort. If the U.S. takes the lead against AIDS, it positions America in a proactive posture, demonstrates positive US intentions to assist in regional stabilization, simultaneously promoting the welfare of US citizens and the welfare of the people of Africa.

While AIDS is only one of a score of life-threatening diseases found on the African continent, its effects on the population, the stability of governments, and the survival of African countries and their peoples has reached proportions that should be an immediate security concern for the US and her allies.

The scale of the AIDS problem in Africa is enormous.

Without an immediate response by the US to the current AIDS epidemic and its effects on the population, the collapsing states of Africa will continue to destabilize with severe repercussions for global security and prosperity. According to data from the US Census Bureau, this modern disease epidemic is slashing the life expectancy of people in the hardest hit countries in Sub-Saharan Africa to levels not seen since the late 1800s. *It is a fact that soon AIDS will have killed more people than all wars of the 20th century.*

In an address to the UN Security Council in January 2000, James Wolfenson, World Bank President, soberly challenged the world representatives gathered there with these words:

> We will be judged on whether the international community can face up to the global challenges. AIDS is a global issue. It forces us to bring all our understanding together – of security, health, economics, social and cultural change. It forces us to bring all actors together – from developed and developing countries, communities and governments, business and NGOs [Non-Governmental Organizations], science, faith and civil society. [10]

13

With each passing day, as 12,000 more people die from AIDS in Africa, the cost to us all increases as does the complexity of the situation and the solutions. It is time for a sustained program of international assistance to back up national plans to decrease the incidence of the disease and treat those currently infected as effectively as possible. A concerted effort combining curative and preventive medicine would be optimally effective because episodic attempts at disease control have the potential to do more harm than good. The decision facing the US is whether or not it will back its declared policies of stability, prosperity and democracy for the nations of Africa with support, technology and expertise. To not take definitive action, and do it now, will be tantamount to repeating very costly history lessons.

> The world is a dangerous place to live,
> not because of the people who are evil,
> but because of the people who don't do anything about it.

—Albert Einstein

WORD COUNT=5025

ENDNOTES

[1] Andre Roux, ed., Business Futures 1999, (University of Stellenbosch, South Africa: Institute for Futures Research, 1999), p. 38.

[2] Alexei Vassiliev, "Africa: A Stepchild of Globalisation," A Report at the 8th Conference of Africanists, (African Institute: Moscow, 1999), p. 21.

[3] Paul Kennedy, Preparing for the Twenty-first Century, (New York: Random House, 1993), pp. 61-62.

[4] Greg Mills, The Wired Model: South Africa, Globalisation and the Third Millennium, (Johannesburg, South Africa: The South African Institute of International Affairs, Jan Smuts House, and Tafelburg Publishers Ltd., Cape Town, 2000), p.104.

[5] National Intelligence Estimate, "The Global Infectious Disease Threat and Its Implications for the United States," (Washington, D.C.: National Intelligence Council, January 2000), p. 48.

[6] Kennedy, p. 217.

[7] Mills, p. 5.

[8] Kennedy, p. 130.

[9] Vassiliev, p. 16.

[10] James Wolfenson, "Address to the UN Security Council," United Nations Integrated Regional Network, 11 January 2000.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abdulai, Al. "The Came, They Talked, They Cautioned," *Africa Insight* 32 (September 2002):.51-57.

Flanagan, Stephen J. "Meeting the Challenge of the Global Century." In *The Global Century: Globalization and National Security*, ed. Richard L.Kugler and Ellen L. Frost, 7-34, Washington,D.C.: National Defense University Press, 2001.

Friedman, Thomas L. *The Lexus and the Olive Tree*. New York: Farrar, Strauss, and Giroux, 1999.

Frost, Ellen L. "Globalization and National Security: A Strategic Agenda." In *The Global Century: Globalization and National Security*, ed. Richard L. Kugler and Ellen L Frost, 35-74, Washington, D.C.: National Defense University Press, 2001.

Herbst, Jeffrey. "Responding to State Failure in Africa." In Air War College Regional Studies, Book Four, Lesson 26, (Maxwell AFB: Alabama,2000), pp. 213 – 227.

Hugo, P. Francois. "Africa: A Troubled Continent in a Globalizing World." In *The Global Century: Globalization and National Security*, ed. Richard L. Kugler and Ellen L. Frost, 1025-1054, Washington, D.C.: National Defense University, 2001.

Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS. *AIDS and the Military: UNAIDS Point of View*. New York: United Nations, 1998.

Kennedy, Paul. *Preparing for the Twenty-first Century*. New York: Random House, 1993.

Mbatia, Paul N. and York W. Bradshaw. "Responding to Crisis: Patterns of Health Care Utilization in Central Kenya Amid Economic Decline." *African Studies Review* 46 (April 2003): 69-92.

Mills, Greg. *The Wired Model: South Africa, Globalisation and the Third Millenium*. Johannesburg, South Africa: The South African Institute of International Affairs, Jan Smuts House, and Tafelberg Publishers Ltd., Cape Town, 2000.

Oakley, Robert B. and Jendayi Frazier. "Sub-Saharan Africa: Progress or Drift." In *Strategic Assessment 1999: Priorities for a Turbulent World*, ed. Hans Binnendijk, Washington, D.C.: National Defense University, 1999.

Serpa, Eduardo. "AIDS in Africa: The Socio-cultural Roots of a Disease," *Africa Insight* 32 (September 2002): 43-50.

Vassiliev, Alexei. "Africa: A Stepchild of Globalization." In *Proceedings of the 8th Conference of Africanists*. Translated by Regina M. Curtis. Moscow: Africa Institute of Moscow University, September 1999.

Zinsser, Hans. *Rat, Lice and History*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1935.